

# THE CAMBODIA DILEMMA

## Senators Seek U.S. Policy Limits...

By JAMES DOYLE  
Star Staff Writer

The leading members of the Senate's foreign policy establishment are convinced that the United States is walking into another Asian bottomless pit in Cambodia. This week they will begin the most far-reaching effort yet to control U.S. policy there before it develops.

Sweeping anti-war amendments and fund cut-off proposals are part of the effort. But for the first time those who oppose further military commitments in Southeast Asia have come up with a series of specific, carefully-worded restrictions on U.S. activities which, if passed, would do much to return congressional partnership to the conduct of foreign policy.

"We are getting out of South Vietnam," says Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana, "but it looks like we are getting into Cambodia."

"It appears to me that the old pattern is perhaps being repeated; that the handwriting is on the wall for another Vietnam, despite all disclaimers to the contrary."

watched with increasing discomfort as U.S. military and economic aid has multiplied.

Last week a prominent dove leaked to The New York Times a memorandum from the Joint Chiefs of Staff to Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird which spelled out a proposed five-year program of pacification, "psychological operations" and "unconventional warfare" for Cambodia, and listed the ways to fund such a program by diverting appropriations from other areas, masking military aid as economic assistance and declaring large amounts of military equipment "excess" so that it could be diverted to Cambodia.

The memorandum called for doubling U.S. expenditures by 1977 to a level of \$500 million a year.

Capitol Hill sources admit that the memorandum was never agreed to by Laird, and that both the State Department and Henry Kissinger's National Security Council Staff apparently opposed the plan.

But its disclosure accelerated an effort within the Foreign Relations Committee to set stringent limits on future aid to Cambodia.

### Aid Bill Provision

Senators Stuart Symington, D-Mo., and Clifford Case, R-N.J., added a provision to the foreign aid bill last week that would limit money to Cambodia in fiscal 1972 to an absolute ceiling of \$250 million for all military and economic assistance.

The expenditures would have to be accounted for in such great detail that State Department officials complained privately the procedure might be both unmanageable and dangerous to national security.

A second part of the Symington-Case amendment would limit to 200 the number of American personnel who can operate in Cambodia, and would allow for funds to pay only 50 third-country nationals employed in Cambodia by the U.S. Government.

The bill states explicitly that no more than \$250 million from any government source can be spent "to carry out directly or indirectly any economic or military assistance, or any operation project, or program of any kind, or for providing any goods, supplies, materials, equipment, services, personnel, or advisers, in to for or on behalf of Cambodia..."

During a 1969 visit to Cambodia, Mansfield found only two Americans at the embassy in Phnom Penh. When Prince Norodom Sihanouk was overthrown in 1970, there were 11 Americans there. Now, Mansfield says, "There are upwards of 150 and the trend is up."

Many of Mansfield's Senate colleagues do not believe the United States would make a massive commitment of American air and ground force to Cambodia, as it did in Vietnam.

But to many of them, Cambodia looks like a trap that could drain financial and political resources from the United States for years, preventing the kind of decisive disengagement from Indochina that Senate doves believe to be a necessity.

The Cambodia question has been simmering beneath the surface in the Senate for more than a year, since the Nixon administration began a rapid increase of aid to the Lon Nol government after the U.S. invasion of Communist sanctuaries in the spring of 1970.

Many members of the Foreign Relations Committee have  
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A subsection states that in computing the \$250 million limitation, the value of any goods provided must be listed at "fair market value and in no case less than one-third of acquisition cost."

State Department officials first learned of the Cambodia limitations from the newspapers, and the administration appears to have been caught off guard.

Department officials said yesterday they did not know whether the administration would make a major effort on the floor of the Senate to remove the limitations from the bill, although they acknowledge that an intense effort could be expected in a House-Senate conference committee.

Administration objections are many. The ceiling would represent a 40 percent cut in planned aid to Cambodia. The strict accounting called for could be interpreted, one official noted, to include the state Department's internal budget, to include the State for Washington officials assigned to Cambodian affairs and even the cost of airplane rides to Cambodia by sightseeing members of Congress.

More significant, the cost breakdown was interpreted as requiring the Central Intelligence Agency to report its expenditures — both for military and intelligence operations — to the Congress as a whole, instead of just to special  
the Senate and House.

### Worst Moment

From the administration's point of view, Senate doves have chosen the worst possible moment to attempt remote-control cost accounting of the Indochina War.

As more and more U.S. troops depart from Vietnam, the five North Vietnamese and Viet Cong divisions in Cambodia become an increasing threat which needs to be countered with more, not less, U.S. aid to the growing Cambodian army.

Senate opponents do not deny the strategic importance of the Cambodian border areas or the pressure that could be exerted there by the North Vietnamese.

But they believe the administration should closely consult Congress every step of the way in order to resist the temptation to pour massive resources into Cambodia as a way of diverting the attention of the enemy and U.S. critics from Vietnam.

## \$250 Million Ceiling Sought

# Cambodia Aid Limit Pushed

By Spencer Rich

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted 9 to 4 yesterday to clamp an absolute limit of \$250 million on all forms of U.S. military and economic assistance to Cambodia in Fiscal 1972.

The proviso was added to the foreign aid bill on the motion of Sens. Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) and Stuart Symington (D-Mo.).

Case said it is intended to prevent an "indefinite escalation" of U.S. outlays for Cambodia. The Fiscal 1971 aid level is also about \$250 million, but the administration had sought \$341 million for Fiscal 1972.

A second part of the amendment puts a ceiling of 200 on the number of U.S. personnel in Cambodia to prevent a buildup of the U.S. military equipment aid group. U.S. personnel there now number 150.

Still a third part of the amendment limits the number of third-country nationals who may be paid from U.S. aid funds to 50. This is designed to prevent use of U.S. funds to hire radio operators, mechanics and supply clerks from such nations as Thailand, the Philippines and Korea. No such personnel are there now, but sources said there were plans to hire 100 or more.

Before the vote was taken on the Case-Symington amendment, sponsors accepted addi-

tional wording by Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) stating that the provision of military and economic assistance to Cambodia, within the limits imposed, does not constitute a U.S. commitment to the defense of that country.

The Case-Symington measure originally imposed a \$200 million aid limit and a 150-man ceiling on U.S. personnel. But Case said the figures were raised in committee to indicate that "this wasn't intended to be a sharp reduction of existing programs, but a limit on indefinite escalation" to give Congress time to study how far the United States should go in supporting the war in Cambodia.

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## AID, From A1

Case said his amendment was particularly timely in view of reports that the Joint Chiefs of Staff had advised Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird that "to bring about a military solution in Cambodia," U.S. military aid would have to rise to more than \$500 million by 1977.

According to congressional sources, the Joint Chiefs advised Laird that the number of regular Cambodian troops — now at 180,000 a year ago — would have to jump to 300,000 by 1977 and paramilitary forces to 500,000 by then.

The reports said that the Joint Chiefs considered the \$211 million military assistance portion of the administration's total request for 1972 of \$351 million too small, and had devised plans for shifting \$52 million from other sources to the military aid program.

This was intended to boost the regular Cambodian army to 220,000 men by the end of the year and the "paramilitary" forces to 143,000. The reports said the JCS had devised

various methods of transferring funds from one account to another or of using "excess" military equipment.

Case said his amendment closed all loopholes against any such shifts. Laird, at a press conference, neither confirmed nor denied the existence of the reported Joint Chiefs' recommendations, but did say no aid for Cambodia beyond the \$341 million already requested would be sought this year.

Like an earlier Symington amendment to the military procurement bill limiting Laos aid to \$350 million, yesterday's Cambodia provisos cover only military and economic assistance and do not restrict spending for U.S. air missions flown over Cambodia.

Before the vote, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) said in a floor speech that before the Sihanouk government was overthrown, Cambodia was "an oasis of order in war-torn Indochina." But now, because the United States had helped draw Cambodia into the war, "Cambodia is being reduced to chaos and devastation."

## SENATE UNIT VOTES \$250-MILLION LIMIT ON CAMBODIAN AID

Sum Is \$90-Million Below  
Administration's Request  
—'Armed Camp' Feared

PROPOSAL PASSES 10-3

A Limit of 150 on American  
Personnel Assigned to  
Country Also Adopted

By JOHN W. FINNEY  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 13 —  
The Senate Foreign Relations  
Committee voted today to im-  
pose a \$250-million ceiling on  
military and economic aid to  
the Cambodian Government in  
the current fiscal year.

The Administration has re-  
quested authority to spend  
\$341-million in Cambodia —  
about \$200-million in military  
aid and the remainder in eco-  
nomic assistance.

An amendment incorporated  
into the Foreign Aid Authori-  
zation Bill by the committee  
would also limit to 150 the  
number of American civilian  
and military personnel assigned  
to Cambodia.

Administration Is Opposed

The committee amendment,  
co-sponsored by Senator Stuart  
Symington, Democrat of Mis-  
souri, and Senator Clifford P.  
Case, Republican of New Jer-  
sey, was adopted by a 10-3  
vote over the opposition of the  
Administration, which warned  
that the limitations would un-  
dermine the Cambodian Gov-  
ernment and endanger Ameri-  
can troops as they are with-  
drawn from Vietnam.

In a letter to the committee,  
Under Secretary of State John  
N. Irwin said that the Admin-  
istration's request was "the  
minimum which is essential to  
help Cambodians consolidate  
their independence."

The committee's action was  
prompted in part by the dis-  
closure that the Joint Chiefs of  
Staff had recommended a long-  
range program that by 1977  
would bring military aid to  
Cambodia to \$500-million,  
roughly double that now being  
spent.

The Joint Chiefs are re-  
ported to believe that increased  
military assistance to Cambodia  
is necessary to protect South  
Vietnam's western flank as  
American troops are withdrawn  
from Indochina. But to many  
members of the Senate com-  
mittee, the proposal represents  
a growing American commit-  
ment to Cambodia similar to  
that set a decade ago in South  
Vietnam.

'Armed Camp' Foreseen

Senator Symington, in an in-  
terview, expressed fear that the  
real intention of the Joint  
Chiefs of Staff was to "shore  
up" the borders of Thailand  
by establishing positions of  
strength in Cambodia and Laos  
"where we could remain in-  
definitely."

Senator Case, in a statement,  
said that the recommendations  
of the Joint Chiefs "would en-  
tirely destroy Cambodia's own  
economy and turn that country  
into an armed camp, altogether  
dependent on United States  
dollars, arms and food for its  
continued existence."

He emphasized that the limi-  
tation on spending was a "hold-  
ing action" designed to force a  
full-scale review of future  
American policy in Cambodia  
and said:

"We should go no further in  
increasing our commitment to  
Cambodia at least not without  
a firm decision by Congress and  
the American people that an  
expanded war in Cambodia is  
the course our country should  
follow."

In a statement on the Senate

floor, Senator Mike Mansfield,  
the majority leader, said:

"The Cambodian experience  
is an admonition to curb the  
easy outflow of the financial  
resources of the people of this  
nation which, for years, has  
been legislated in the name of  
national defense and foreign  
aid.

"In the case of Cambodia,  
the hundreds of millions of  
dollars already spent in a year  
and a half have done hardly  
anything for the defense of this  
nation except, perhaps, to  
weaken it by wastage. Nor have  
these expenditures helped the  
Cambodian people, who have

now been reduced to the com-  
mon denominator of the irrele-  
vant devastation which has  
been suffered in Laos and  
Vietnam."

Senator Mansfield protested  
that "the trend of present Cam-  
bodian policy, insofar as I can  
see, runs strongly counter not  
only to the expressed inclina-  
tions of the Congress but also  
to the Nixon doctrine which  
was supposed to provide the  
guidelines of that policy."

In the year and a half since  
the Government of Prince  
Sihanouk was overthrown and  
the United States conducted  
military operations against  
Communist sanctuaries in Cam-  
bodia, he said, Cambodia has  
become "the enemy sanctuary,"  
the nation is "being reduced to  
chaos and devastation," and  
American support has become  
"the sole significant prop which  
keeps the political-military  
structure in Phnompenh from  
falling apart."

"I sometimes wonder," he  
said, "how we let ourselves get  
involved in these travesties of  
foreign policy which, rather  
than serve the interests of this  
nation, give every appearance  
of being at complete odds with  
those interests."